3: Wilbert E-8 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC13
YECUANA SS20

some two or three days; from that time on the girl is considered marriageable. Girls are married early and lechuleros practically do not exist.

Future field work will have to disclose whether it is true that a unilineal rule of descent has indeed not been established among the Yekuanas, as our informant told us. So far we can only say that the Yekuanas have a society with bilateral descent, local exogamy, matrilocal residence, Iroquois cousin terminology, and matri-clans. In general it is now to find Iroquois cousin terminology with bilateral descent. The matri-clan structure, however, resulting from local exogamy and matrilocal residence, provides a perfectly good functional basis for Iroquois cousin terminology despite the absence of unilineal descent.

THE GOAJIRO KINSHIP SYSTEM

This section is intended to contribute to the study of Goajiro sociology, by giving some notes on the kinship system of this Indian group. Although some contributions, mainly with respect to the social organization of the Goajiro have been published in the past, information on their kinship system is almost completely lacking.

By chance, the author was visited by J. A. Polanko, a Goajiro Indian in his thirties, who belongs to the Guaymo group of the Venezuelan part of the peninsula "La Goajira." The informant is bilingual, speaking Spanish as a second language to his mother tongue. Although the information acquired through the help of this person has been carefully checked, it may very well be possible that certain mistakes are to be corrected by future research.

The

1 mother	FaFa/FaFaBr/FaMaBr/MoFa/MoFaBr
2 father	FaFaBr/FaMaBr/FaMoFaBr/MoMoBr/MoMoSi
3 sib	Fa/FaBr/FaSiDa/FaFaBrDa/FaFaSiDa/FaMoBrSo/ FaMoSiDa/MoSiDa/MoFaBrDa (ms.)/MoFaSiSo (ws.)/ FaSiDa/FaSiSoDa/FaSiDaDa
4 sib	Mo/FaBrWi/FaSi/FaFaBrDa/FaFaSiDa/FaMoBrDa/ FaMoSiDa/MoFaBrDa (ms.)/MoFaSiDa (ws.)/FaSiDa/ FaSiSoDa/FaSiDaDa
5 cousin	MoBr/MoFaSiDa (ms.)/MoMoBr/MoMoSiSo
6 cousin	MoBrWi (ms.)/WiSi (ms.)/BrWi (ms.)
7 sib	MoSi/MoFaSiDa (ms.)/MoMoSiDa/SoWi/HuMo
8 cousin	s.Br
9 cousin	s.Br's.Si (ms.)

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

671 tween law and custom in Guajiro society by a variety of illustrations. One of them said in effect:

574 If a cacique visits me and I fail to kill a sheep in honor of his visit
626 and to feast him in accordance with the dignity of his rank and my
671 wealth, I have broken a custom of my people. However, though I offend him by such negligence my guest may take no action to redress the wrong other than to inflict the same discourtesy on me if the opportunity should arise. He may seek neither redress in violence nor composition in payment. My only punishment may be the acquisition of a bad name among my people.

586 But if I visit one of my wives at her rancho and she fails to kill a
671 sheep from her own flocks to feast me, refuses me her person, neglects
684 to supply me with hammocks, saddle-bags, and other articles made by women, or refuses me shelter, she will have broken a 'law'; that is, she will have broken the marriage contract. In this case I may demand from her and her family payment or a divorce. In the latter case her family would have to return to me the bride-price plus any increase in the herds but less an amount considered fair for my having exercised sexual privileges over her, though I may demand even this if she marries again. In case her family refuses to adjust
[626] the matter in accordance with our law I may appeal to my family for help in obtaining my just rights. I should be justified in having recourse to violence. However, the law is so well understood that it would not be necessary to resort to such drastic measures generally.'

671 These informants were acquainted to some extent with
[115] Colombian and Venezuelan laws and were attempting, no
[177] doubt, to classify their own customs in accordance with European practices. Nevertheless it is an indication that in their minds there does exist a class of offenses for which one may seek composition even through violence, and a class that is in the category of merely moral obligations though investigators may not always draw an equally fine distinction.
[114] Simons, for example, in discussing Guajiro law speaks of injury to oneself as giving rise to a legal obligation for composition.
574 My informants, on the contrary, distinguished it from that
626 class of wrongful acts. If a man cuts himself, his father and
672 father's relatives receive an expiatory offering. Had one of
602 my informants, the son of a rich cacique, cut himself he would have given a small barrel of rum and five or more sheep to his

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

153 on a clear day can be seen from any point in it. On the west side a small hill attached spoils its beauty, even from seaward, otherwise it is perfectly symmetrical in form. The Indians call it Jupita. It lies [103] in the Cosina district, and is the most dangerous portion of the Goajira. To visit it, I had to persuade Martin, one of the great chiefs, to ● [115] accompany me with his three sons, uncles, nephews, &c. We started at daybreak, rode all day, and arrived in time to see the sunset from the [129] top. We only saw three Indians the whole day, yet Martin assured me that all our movements were watched, and pointed out to me two probable places where an ambuscade would be planned for our return. We returned by a different road, getting back at 4 A.M. tired, hungry, and thirsty. I found the height to be 1900 feet above sea-level, or 900 feet above the plain. The rock is composed chiefly of trachyte with large crystals of felspar, similar to those of the Drachenfels on the Rhine. As also belonging to this group may be considered the two isolated hills rising in front of Cerro de los Remedios and Carrizal, close to the north spur of the Cujoro range, called Jullara. They are both insignificant and do not exceed 400 feet in height. The Cerros de Carpintero, a small group of hills behind the Cabo de la Vela, are of more importance, they are about 700 feet above sea-level. From Cabo de la Vela to Puerto Estrella, between the hills and the sea, are innumerable cliffs and banks rising to 200 feet, usually with very abrupt edges, and covered with rolled stones.

Rivers properly speaking there are none in the Goajira. The country is cut up in all directions by shallow, dry, sandy beds of watercourses, that during the rainy season carry off the water as fast as it falls. Not even the Macuira Hills are able to send a flowing stream to the sea during the summer, which here lasts at least eight months. It [562] will have been remarked that the Indians have no collective name for their mountains, each little projecting point rejoicing in its own name. With their rivers it is still worse, for not only every water-hole adds a new title to a river—and these are innumerable, the custom being to dig for water in the sand of the watercourses, and as these wells dry up others are dug further up stream—but every path that crosses the watercourse has its name. Even any prominent rock or large tree is enough to add to the interminable list of river nomenclature. On the plains below the Tetas the drainage is effected by numerous small streams winding about in a most bewildering manner, and although perfectly dry, they usually have pools of muddy water at the bends. As the plain is little above sea-level, the water has cut deep zigzag channels, very different from the shallow sandy beds of the hills. The water remaining dammed up, instead of gravitating to the sea, causes the great fertility of the plains.

The principal source of water for the Indians are wells. These are [92] of two kinds; first, the most common, by digging, usually in the dry

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Guajiro SC13

551 told that among my own people I was a sort of medicine-man and chief combined.

Nowadays most of the Indians in Guajira acquire three first names: a Spanish one that the white men give them, a nickname, and their true, Indian name, which is secret except to members of their immediate family. When a girl is born, her father names her after her mother or some near female relative, but for everyday use she has a pet name [553] which is only dropped when she reaches marriageable age. She then acquires a new name, which she keeps for the rest of her life.

563, 101 The Creoles called those in the border areas who were not Indians 'gente', or just 'people'. They could scarcely be called white, for many were as good as pure black, being the descendants of former slaves. When they told us in Rio Hacha that there were not any 'people' living in this or that village, they meant that there were none but Indians there. Those who were not Indians, that is those who wore trousers, also called themselves '*civilizados*', while the Indians called them *arijuna*.

• 115 124 We called our two old Indians Gaffer and Gammer, and the youngest 'The Lad'. We liked The Lad especially. He was strong, merry and did the work of two. The fourth, who, strangely enough, had a crew cut and was supposed to be our interpreter, we called 'Bristles', and he learned to answer to that. He knew a little Spanish, but as an interpreter he was no use. When the Gaffer had been talking to us for a long time and we asked Bristles what he had said, the answer always was: 'Nothing'. Perhaps that was what the other's talk amounted to, but we should have preferred to have judged that for ourselves. We noticed, too, that if we had to scold the Gaffer, Bristles did not dare repeat what we said. With gestures and the few Guajiro words we knew we could make Gaffer realize that we were annoyed with him, but not always why.

241 346 The men wore nothing but the usual piece of cloth and belt, the *aiwia*, or, in Spanish, *guayuco*, which really means crupper, and sandals to protect their feet from the cactus spikes lying on the ground, but the Gammer was enveloped

7:Bolinder 7-5 (1926, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

great indignation. In those parts to which civilization had penetrated, it was not considered shameful to steal, provided you were not discovered.

Why do all semi-civilized natives, whether Indians or negroes, steal like jackdaws, while primitive peoples in the jungle respect each other's property? Stealing had become a sport with the half-bred Goajiros, but the Indian law was still enforced: he who was discovered had to replace what he had stolen and pay compensation as well.

The old man took advantage of the confusion to make off. When we had finished with his wife, he and his donkeys had gone, and his spouse had to follow on foot, sweating and cursing as hard as she could.

The two younger Indians did not go with the old couple. They received half a bag of maize and were delighted. It should have lasted them the whole way back and more, but I am sure that they cooked it all, as soon as they could borrow a pot, eating more than they had ever done before and sweating everyone else, and probably going hungry for the rest of the way home.

We had wanted to give The Lad a hut, a thing for which he longed, as he had spent the last few days trying to explain to my wife, for whom he had a great admiration and for whose help he was hoping. He had been sure that there would be huts to be had at Nazaret. But of Nazaret both he and we had had exaggerated ideas. It was a mission station, not a trading post. The monks did not sell huts, and they possessed but one spare. The Lad had earned a hut and would have had one, had it been possible; but he had to walk away as bare of head as he came.

?:Bollinder T-5 (1910, 1955) 1957
SC13 Geojjro SC13

CHAPTER 6

Indiscreet Investigation

125 Our landing really describes our activities during the next few weeks, while we travelled around among the Indians of Mawaim, visiting them in their meshos and questioning them about all sorts of things. The Indians were now at all self-conscious and gladly and frankly told us all we wished to know. They had not been insulted by white people, as so many other Indians here, and we took care not to make fun of their customs. Because of that, they had no inhibitions. The results amazed us that on the whole we should be able to make the acquaintance of the Indians in more peaceful conditions in the Mawaim Hills than elsewhere in the peninsula. They had put it about that we belonged to quite a different clan from the Creoles, which our appearance seemed to confirm, and they thought that it would never occur to the Indians to avenge themselves on us, if one of them had been involved by a white person, somewhere else. Of course, we ought to be careful, they added, and promised to give us a suitable person. The only little disagreement but it which we lived was to be at our disposal as long as we remained in Mawaim. From it we could go off for trips of a few days, as it suited us, and so get to know the whole area.

126 We got our servant, an extremely fine Creole, called Francisco who had often travelled with Police Chiefs. Francisco was peace-loving, but not at all afraid of to fellow Indians. That was a great advantage. In dealing with primitive people you must always keep calm, especially when they appear aggressive.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

Francisco's blood was slightly mixed, but, of course, he followed his Indian mother's clan and bore the name Ipuana. This clan's symbol is the hawk. Francisco was married and his wife belonged to the Dog clan, Jayariyú Their children were thus called Jayariyú, and Francisco was not even of the same family, though no one doubted his paternity.

Francisco served us well on our journeys. He was not especially quick-witted, but he was certainly not a simpleton. He suited us well in Guajira, for he knew both the country and the people; later, when we came to parts that he did not know, he was a little out of his depth.

Francisco's wife, Anita—the nuns had called her that—used to help my wife in our hut, and glad we were to have her, for primitive housekeeping involves much hard labour. Anita had a sweet young sister, who had not yet acquired a christian name. She was called Chinca. She had no real business in our hut, but she used to come sometimes and lounge in the doorway, looking rather fetching. We noticed, however, that after each of Chinca's visits something was missing. These were not valuable things, it is true, for we did not leave those lying about, but match boxes used to disappear and occasional packets of oatmeal. Although we still had plenty of the latter and Chinca was good to look at and welcome to stand in our doorway—we thought we would teach her not to steal. We filled an empty oatmeal packet with hay and sand and laid it conveniently within reach. Chinca came and went again, and the packet went too. A few minutes later Chinca came rushing back, flung the packet on to the floor and cursed us up hill and down dale in her own expressive tongue. We could not help roaring with laughter; a thief who goes back to those he has robbed and curses them because the stolen goods have not been to his liking! Anita begged our forgiveness on her sister's behalf:

'After all, she is a heathen and does not know better.'

'And you, Anita, do you never steal?'

'Not now. I am Christian. But when I was a heathen, ah! then I stole such a lot.'

Hollander T-S (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

And her eyes shone at the recollection of the now forbidden pleasures of her girlhood.

When I went on trips in the surrounding country I usually had Francisco with me and often my wife. Anita had then to be ready to feed us when we came home, whether it were the same day, or the next, or three days later. In such things Indian women have patience. They know how to wait, and they are never surprised.

We began our exploration of the brown hills and green valleys of Macuira with a long trip on foot. Laboriously we waded through the fine sand. This is almost firm when it is damp, but it was then the dry season and the sand was loose. We were going to visit relatives of Francisco, simple people, but not actually poor. To us who had already had a certain amount to do with Indians, it was a surprise to find ourselves dealing in such categories as 'rich', 'poor', 'well-to-do', etc., just as though we were concerned with white people. Among all other Indians the difference in economic status between individuals had been relatively insignificant, as, presumably, it had been among the Guajiro before they took to herding cattle.

The Indians we were to visit lived in a beautiful place, just on the fringe of a wooded valley between purple brown heights, with the peak of Inahor dominating the landscape. The valley was like a green Bengal fire against its parched background. There were two huts, built of cactus wood and with roofs of the same material. They were saddle-backed and linked by a wall, which acted as a shield against the wind, that there always blows in the same direction. In front of this wall, that is between the two houses, were the fires. Round about were shelves covered with grass and erected on four poles. The Creoles call these *trojas*. You can sit under them and be out of the sun, and cooking utensils and stores can be kept on them out of reach of animals. Here and there were hammocks stretched between poles stuck in the ground, and there were other poles used in the all but daily butchering of a goat or sheep. Round these there were dark patches on the ground.

Having Francisco with us we were naturally well re-

?:Bolinder 7-8 (1920, 1928) 1957
SC13 Coajiro SC13

In another game the dangerous spirit Yoruyi attacks and kills Indian after Indian till he is set upon by them all and killed; in yet another the Indians hide in a cloud made of cloaks, when the spirit forces its way in, but it is captured by the cloud and vanquished.

Horse-racing is one of the Indians' greatest pleasures at their festivities, but they also indulge in it—without horses—as a game in connection with the dances. Very amusing and picturesque is a game in which they imitate hunting a kind of bird that plunders the seed in their fields. The Indians pretend to be trying to scare them and catch them in nets. Here the seed is represented by some children, some of the men are the birds, others the hunters who catch the birds in their hammocks and then wring their necks!

Another game represents a fight between jaguars and dogs. The strongest of the men are made the jaguars, for these have to win. Then there is a snake game in which men and women crawl along together, imitating the movements of a snake and singing the snake song: 'I am the snake. I creep along the ground. I do harm to none, but punish those who try to trample me. Long must he suffer, who tramps upon me because he thinks me defenceless since I creep on the ground. He must suffer and die.' There are endless variations; but a dance lasts so long that a little variety is necessary.

Once the upper-class dance, the chichamaya, was over, Manuna's people gladly showed us all their games and dances even though it was not the right time of year.

As we were riding home the next day we encountered several companies of Indians returning from a burial-feast. Among them was a young man in a beautifully woven mantle, who joined up with us. He spoke good Spanish and obviously belonged to the upper class. Francisco told him about us, and he was eager that we should be his guests that same day, since his rancho lay on our route. He said that he had a few things that I might well find interesting and he himself would like to see one of my pianos. (Francisco had evidently described how they smoked and made a bang.) Some of the Indians accompanying us now became